

"You Were Greatly Successful in Creating Real Unity Between the People of Iraq"

**H.E. Alhakim's Statement
On Commemoration of Late
Ayatollah Alhakim**



**In the Name of Allah, the
Compassionate, the Merciful**

**"Among the Believers are men who
have been true to their Covenant with
Allah: of them some have completed
their vow (to the extreme) and some
(still) wait: but they have never changed
(their determination) in the least"**

In the annual commemoration of the martyrdom of the immortal martyr, the late Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir Alhakim, Shaheed Al-Mihrab (may God sanctify him), we would like to express our deep gratitude for your concern and interest in celebrating this event. It is a celebration that originates from respect for his great personality, having given all that he has for the sake of Iraq and saving Iraqis from the control of the authoritarian rule of the junta which took control of the country for more than three decades.

Mention of Shaheed Al-Mihrab on this occasion does not only symbolize his great character—even though his personality fully deserves praise and recognition for his great qualities, selfless acts, and what he underwent in life, which can be of great benefit to us—but more so the project and outline that were set, especially since we are undergoing a difficult experience. We face many challenges in this experience of building the new Iraq, an Iraq independent of the historic legacy of the past 8 decades, which have formed the values and norms in society, as well as social and political traditions which have made an impact, whether positive or negative, on the way of life in Iraq. It has also developed, to a large extent, the nature of the relationship between the governor and the governed.

You were for all the Iraqis, the Shi'i and Sunnis, the Arabs and Kurds, Turkmen, and other minorities. You defended everyone's rights. You were greatly successful in creating real unity between the people of Iraq, in which the rights of all are respected and there is no dictatorship or sectarian or ethnic oppression. We work for a free, independent and stable Iraq. We want security and stability for this country.

The project, which Shaheed Al-Mihrab struggled for, was for Iraq and Iraqis, for a free Iraq, secure, prosperous, and independent, constitutional and just, protecting the rights and dignity of all Iraqis. This is the Iraq that he wanted: a state of the citizen rather than a state of the ruler or official. Shaheed Al-Mihrab wanted this Iraq and we have aimed to achieve this for the past six years.

This project was not one that would be achieved by mere wishful thinking, without a price, and Shaheed Al-Mihrab realized this. He knew that the price for freedom and the restoration of dignity and independence would be a great one, and

he was fully prepared to pay that price. He finally fulfilled his promise to God and was martyred near his grandfather, Imam Ali's (AS), shrine.

If there had to be in such celebrations held to mark the anniversaries of great figures inspirations from the lessons and messages which they exemplified, one of the lessons that inspires us from this exceptional personality is that there must be persistence, despite all the difficulties, and faith in the great victory and hope that God Almighty promised.

Iraq and Iraqis, for Shaheed Al-Mihrab, were not simply a case of hope and regret for what had transpired; on the contrary, they were the basis for contemplation, for the origin of projects and ideas, for acting and achieving, for the social and political relations. Iraq and its future were the bases for Shaheed Al-Mihrab, and everything else was excluded. With this high level of spiritual thinking and determination to save Iraq from the grips of Saddam's Ba'ath Party, Shaheed Al-Mihrab used to begin and end his day, feeling Iraq's troubles.

Even after the changes and his return to Iraq, this approach did not change; in contrast, we witnessed an escalation in his efforts based on the effects of reality, the needs imposed by the daily movements of the circumstances, and efforts in order to address the current situation in Iraq after the occupation of coalition troops to the country and the toppling of the former regime. Today, we move in all fields in order to achieve the aspirations of Shaheed Al-Mihrab, which are the ambitions of the Iraqis themselves. We have achieved many of those ambitions, because of the sacrifices of the Iraqis and the heavy prices they have had to pay, the sacrifices of Shaheed Al-Mihrab being at the forefront.

We still have much ahead, and we have not

yet achieved all our ambitions. We seek to gain advancements and prosperity for all Iraqis, attain full security, preserve Iraq's unity—in land, people, and government; and rebuild and develop the country to a level befitting of the land known as the Cradle of Civilization and the land of prophets, imams, and the righteous people, in order to regain Iraq's rightful place in the Arab, Islamic, and international communities. Our great goal in Iraq is providing for the Iraqi citizens; we want the citizens to live freely, safely, and honorably, proud that they come from the great country of Iraq.

This leads us to acknowledge our responsibilities towards what we want to achieve. Just as Shaheed Al-Mihrab felt towards this country, we must also do the same today in order to rebuild it. We must assume responsibility towards our country and our people, and Iraqis can achieve their goals in rebuilding their country.

Iraqis suffered and have faced many challenges, including the challenges of the terrorists and Saddamists, but they insisted on choosing life, despite all the death and destruction caused by the barbaric militants and Saddamists. They courageously faced all the major schemes that were designed to disrupt unity and the confiscation of their will.

To the Iraqis living abroad, we say that you can become the messengers of Iraq and the Iraqis and spread the message from Iraq to the world, through your projects, ideas, and concerns, and your support for the new experience in building the new Iraq.

Saddam's regime has caused great tragedies, and pain and failure in all areas of Iraq. Each one of us should think of what we can do to build the new Iraq, and the march of Shaheed Al-Mihrab should be in our minds, and his message of optimism, hope, seriousness in action, realism, and depth of ideas.

Today, we are carrying out our best efforts to expand the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) beyond the barriers of ethnic and sectarian divides, in order to build the Iraqi national unity on the basis of good citizenship, placing the interests of the country and people above all else.

Finally, I pray to God Almighty to make all of our good wishes a reality, and to preserve Iraq from all harm.

Abdul-Aziz Alhakim
June 23, 2009

The Late Ayatollah Alhakim



Birth

Ayatollah Alhakim was born in 1939 A.D., 1358 A.H. in the holy city of Najaf in Iraq, which embraces the biggest theological university for the Shi'ite Muslims in the world. He is the son of Grand Ayatollah Imam Muhsin Alhakim, who assumed the general religious leadership (marja'a taqlid) of Shi'ites all over the world for approximately twenty years.

On Friday, Aug 29th, 2003, Ayatollah Muhammad Baker Alhakim was assassinated tragically in Najaf immediately after Friday prayer at the Imam Ali (AS) Holy Shrine, after almost three and a half months from his return from exile to Iraq. He returned on May 10th, 2003. Martyr Alhakim (Shaheed Al-Mihrab) has granted his life to the future of Iraq and for the freedom, justice and independence of Iraq. Since then, his brother H.E. Sayyed Abdul Aziz Mohsen Mahdi Al Hakim has succeeded him as the leader of ISCI.

Family

Ayatollah Alhakim family is one of the oldest clerical families in Iraq. The family's ancestors settled in Iraq in the second Hijri century and spread out to other parts of the world. Muhammad Baqir's household has been one of the most famous clerical households in modern day Iraq, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. During the years of the Late Ayatollah Muhsin Alhakim's assumption of the position of marja'a taqlid, the family gained the respect and love of tens of millions of Shi'ites in Iraq and abroad.

Political Activity

Ayatollah Alhakim got involved in politics at an early stage of his life, when he participated with other 'ulama, such as the Grand Ayatollah martyr Al-Sadr and Martyr Muhammad Mahdi Alhakim, in planting the seeds of the current Islamic renaissance in Iraq.

In the late 1950s, Ayatollah Alhakim and a group of other Islamic scholars, including his brother martyr Muhammad Mahdi, martyr Al-Sadr and Murtada Al-'Askari, took part in founding the Iraqi Islamic organization which came to be known as "The Islamic Da'awah Party."

However, for objective reasons, Ayatollah Alhakim decided to quit the formula of political party work in 1960, two years after the foundation of this party. But Ayatollah Alhakim continued to maintain relations with the Islamic movement, providing its members with educational instruction guidance and support during his father's religious leadership and during martyr Al-Sadr's leadership of the Islamic movement.

During the last years of his father's life, he apparently assumed responsibility for conducting the confrontation between the religious leadership and the regime of Iraqi president Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr. He continued this role until the death of Imam Alhakim in 1970.

He reviewed martyr Al-Sadr's two major and illustrious works, *Our Philosophy* and *Our Economy*, which gained Al-Sadr a reputation for being an Islamic intellectual and philosopher of the first order. Martyr Al-Sadr was so pleased with

Ayatollah Alhakim's work on reviewing these two books that he praised him in the introduction of *Our Economy* as "my arm for whose sake I would sacrifice my life" ('adudi al-mufadda).

Books

The following is a list of some of the major books authored by Ayatollah Alhakim:

- 1 - The Sciences of the Qur'an
- 2 - Islamic Rule between Theory and Practice
- 3 - Human Rights from an Islamic Perspective
- 4 - Human Rights from an Islamic Perspective
- 5 - The Islamic Theory of Social Relations
- 6 - The Orientalists and Their Specious Arguments about Islam
- 7 - The Cultural Conflict and the Palestinian Question
- 8 - The Kurdish Question from an Islamic Perspective
- 9 - The Gulf Crisis: Causes and Consequences
- 10 - Iraq: Perceptions of the Present and the Future

Detentions

In the wake of his father's death, Ayatollah Alhakim emerged as the second most important figure in the leadership of the Islamic movement in Iraq. Clearly, his political activity caused concern on the part of the Iraqi authorities. He was arrested along with martyr Al-Sadr and subjected to ruthless torture by the Bakr regime in 1972. He was released after immense popular pressure.

Following his release from prison, Ayatollah Alhakim continued to exercise his social, scientific, and political activities amid difficult circumstances and draconian government measure, including a ban on travel. The regime arrested him again on February 11, 1977, following the popular uprising of Safar.

He was sentenced to life in prison without even a summary trial. Yet, popular pressure forced the regime to release Ayatollah Alhakim on July 17, 1978. But he was not allowed to travel and was placed under continuous surveillance by the regime's secret services.

When the regime of Saddam Hussein put martyr Al-Sadr under house arrest, Ayatollah Alhakim assumed responsibility for establishing a secret channel of contact with Al-Sadr to keep the imprisoned scholar abreast of developments in the political situation and to allow him to continue to take part in planning for political action.

After the murderous execution of Imam Al-Sadr by the regime of Saddam Hussein, Ayatollah Alhakim decided to leave Iraq. He left the country in July 1980 shortly before the eruption of the war between Iraq and Iran.

Activities Abroad

Since his arrival in Iraq, Ayatollah Alhakim paid a special attention to the unification of the Islamic ranks and struggled for solidifying the foundations of the Islamic movement in Iraq. He also paid attention to the unity of the Iraqi opposition and to the importance of coordinating the activities of its different constituent groups in various fields. These efforts culminated in the establishment of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (ISCI). He was elected as a spokesman for the Assembly and then became its chairman in 1986.

In the 1980s ISCI held several conferences to highlight the plight of the Iraqi people such as the Saddam's Crimes Conference (1983), the Islamic Cadres Conference (1985), and the Solidarity. With the Iraqi People Conference (1986).

Ever since he took up residence in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatollah Alhakim did not cut off his contacts with his popular base inside Iraq. These contacts were maintained mainly through clandestine ISCI political and military cells and battalions formed inside Iraq to confront the terrorist policies of Saddam Hussein's regime against the Iraqi people.

He also continued to issue instructions and calls to his broad popular base emphasizing the necessity of combating the regime. ISCI cells and battalions staged a number of major military operations against the regime's forces. A large number of Iraqi soldiers deserted the army and escaped to Iran and other neighboring countries. A significant number of the army deserters

were absorbed into a ISCI military formation known as the Badr Brigade (Faylaq Badr).

Alarmed by the activities of Ayatollah Alhakim, the regime arrested all the members of his household remaining in Iraq and held them hostage. The regime then brutally executed a number of the 's brothers and relatives after he refused to heed the regime's threats that he ceases all political activity or else his imprisoned kinfolds will be executed.



A Synopsis of Ayatollah Alhakim's Political Views:

1- Leadership:

Ayatollah Alhakim believes that Leadership in Islam is the function of a qualified jurist (faqih) who is knowledgeable of the Islamic Shari'ah and possesses such essential qualities as bravery, patience, knowledge, and the courage and confidence to lead the confrontation against the oppressive regimes.

2. Human Rights:

Ayatollah Alhakim believes in the necessity of securing basic human rights, Ayatollah Alhakim has repeatedly emphasized the importance of field cooperation between all the factions and constituent parts of the Iraqi opposition. He has also stressed the necessity of unifying their stance toward the base issues and challenges in order to achieve victory.

3. The Kurdish Issue:

Ayatollah Alhakim believes in the necessity of achieving a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem in Iraq on the basis of granting the Kurds self-rule within the framework of Islamic fraternity between the Arabs and Kurds and other minorities join nationalistic interests and the territorial integrity of Iraq. He believes that Islam provides the best framework for unifying the movement of the Iraqi people and securing the perfect rights of all religious, ethnic and national groups living in Iraq.

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Ayatollah Alhakim Asserts Iraq's Unity



In his Friday sermon, which he delivered on August 15, 2003, Ayatollah Alhakim recognized the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI) and the Interim Governing Council, which recently started its activities. There is a wide-scale movement in the region, in the international community, and in the United Nations about the stand vis-à-vis this council. There are differences in determining the attitudes towards it. These are relatively positive from some countries and not from others.

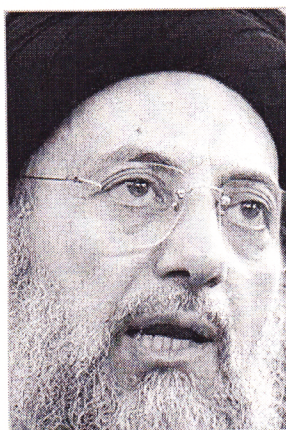
There are basic issues ruling such sort of reluctance in recognizing the new experience in Iraq. There are doubts these countries entertain. Some of these doubts are justified while others are not:

1. Fear for the identity of the Iraqi people: These people have an Islamic and Arab identity, and is it going to be adhered to on a government level? The government should reflect this Iraqi identity.
2. The unity of Iraq, which concerns all Iraqis and all Iraq's neighboring countries means that the partitioning of Iraq will cause very serious harm to these countries.
3. The independence of the Interim Governing Council and the safeguarding of its Iraqi identity as well as its independence of any veto right or foreign control is also a justified concern, and the council has to prove such independence of Iraq.
4. Freedom: All efforts have to be exerted for more freedom and for letting the will of the people rule on all levels away from the individuals forced on the people of Iraq.
5. Non-representation of the Iraqis: this is one of the concerns that are not actually justified because the transitional circumstance mandates a representation of an acceptable level. Many countries do not

have such a size of representation.

6. Interests: We believe in dealing with regional powers based on mutual interests. But if there is meant to be the continuation of the past process of extortion, thus exposing the interests of Iraq to be plundered and pillaged, we do not consent to this whether it comes from the U.S. or the European Union or any other country. But if what is intended is the mutual interest based on the principle of mutual respect, this is what we advocate.

Who Killed Ayatollah Alhakim?



Ayatollah Alhakim was the most experienced in the political works of all Shia leaders in Iraq. He was one of the few theological leaders who was able to not only hold the responsibility of religious authority while remaining politically active, but he was also able to cultivate broad political relationships among the different leaders of Iraq's political parties and organizations along with leaders from around the globe. His death was a great tragedy and the question arises, who stood to benefit from his death? The first culprit would be those remnants of Saddam's regime. Saddam's regime fought with Ayatollah Alhakim for a quarter of a century. They would benefit from the death of Ayatollah Alhakim and in shaking the foundation of stability in Iraq and obstructing the reconstruction efforts to build a new Iraq.

Some point to the terrorist Salafi organizations (those who are followers of Osama Bin Laden) that have become quite

active in Iraq since the fall of Saddam. Whoever is responsible for the killing of Ayatollah Alhakim and hoped that his death would bring about the decline of the Supreme Council have failed. The killing of Ayatollah Alhakim has hardened the resolve of the Supreme Council to help bring about a free and prosperous Iraq. No matter who the killer is, they are certainly an enemy of Iraq and its people. By killing Ayatollah Alhakim, they wanted to kill the hope in the hearts of Iraqis, because of Ayatollah Alhakim's active role in Iraqi politics and his knowledge of the Iraqi people. No matter who killed Ayatollah Alhakim they failed in their mission to destroy his life's work and legacy and have brought about the exact opposite and only spread his message of freedom?

Now, 6 years after the death of Ayatollah Alhakim, Iraq has seen many improvements. Iraq has emerged from the chaos and has established the foundation of a democracy rooted in free and fair elections, where the Iraqi people can choose those whom represent them. This consensus is something that has grown organically in Iraq despite the violence surrounding it. Ayatollah Alhakim has been a voice for freedom of the Iraqi people for decades.

The sacrifices he made in life, with the death of many close family members and eventually his own, go to show what a strong belief Ayatollah Alhakim had in Iraq and its people. Real progress has been made and those who sought to deter it with violence have only cemented the call for a shift towards peace and freedom and away from violence and oppression. The question of who killed Ayatollah Alhakim is an old one and one that does not yet have an answer. But it can be said that his death only exemplified his commitment to Iraq and that he died in the fight for a free and peaceful Iraq.

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